Hillsborough Recorder.

UNION, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS—THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XXI. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1841. No. 1091.

Debate in the Senate.

SPEECH OF

Mr. Clay, of Kentucky,

On the Executive Message containing the President's objections to the Bank Bill

In Senate United States, August 19, 1841.

Mr. RIVES having replied to the remarks of Mr. Clay—

Mr. CLAY rose in rejoinder. I have no desire, said he, to prolong this unpleasant discussion, but I must say that I heard with great surprise and regret the closing remark, especially, of the honorable gentleman from Virginia, as, indeed, I did many of those which preceded it. That gentleman stands in a peculiar situation. I found him several years ago in the *half-way house*, where he seems afraid to remain, and from which he is yet unwilling to go. I had thought, after the thorough riddling which the roof of the house had received in the breaking up of the pet-bank system, he would have fled somewhere else for refuge; but there he still stands, solitary and alone, shivering and pelted by the pitiless storm. The sub-Treasury is repealed—the pet-bank system is abandoned—the United States bank bill is vetoed—and now, when there is as complete and perfect a re-union of the purse and the sword in the hands of the Executive as ever there was under General Jackson or Mr. Van Buren, the Senator is for doing nothing! The Senator is for going home, leaving the Treasury and the country in their lawless condition! Yet no man has heretofore, more than he has, deplored and deprecated a state of things so utterly unsafe and repugnant to all just precautions, indicated alike by sound theory and experience in free governments. And the Senator talks to us about applying to the wisdom of practical men, in respect to banking, and advises further deliberation! Why, I should suppose that we are at present in the very best situation to act upon the subject. Besides the many painful years we have had for deliberation, we have been near three months almost exclusively engrossed with the very subject itself. We have heard all manner of facts, statements, and arguments in any way connected with it. We understand, it seems to me, all we ever can learn or comprehend about a national bank. And we have, at least, some conception too of what sort of one will be acceptable at the other end of the avenue. Yet now, with a vast majority of the people of the entire country crying out to us for a bank—with the people throughout the whole valley of the Mississippi rising in their majesty, and demanding it as indispensable to their well-being, and pointing to their losses, their sacrifices, and their sufferings, for the want of such an institution—in such a state of things, we are gravely and coldly told by the honorable Senator from Virginia that we had best go home, leaving the purse and the sword in the uncontrolled possession of the President, and, above all things, never to make a party bank! Why, sir, does he, with all his knowledge of the conflicting opinions which prevail here, and have prevailed, believe that we ever can make a bank but by the votes of one party who are in favor of it, in opposition to the votes of another party against it? I deprecate this expression of opinion from that gentleman the more, because, although the honorable Senator professes not to know the opinions of the President, it certainly does turn out in the sequel that there is a most remarkable coincidence between those opinions and his own; and he has, on the present occasion, defended the motives and the course of the President with all the solicitude and all the fervent zeal of a member of his *Privy Council*. [A laugh.] There is a rumor abroad that a *cabal* exists—a new sort of Kitchen Cabinet—whose object is the dissolution of the regular Cabinet—the dissolution of the Whig party—the dispersion of Congress, without accomplishing any of the great purposes of the extra session—and a total change, in fact, in the whole face of our political affairs. I hope, and I persuade myself, that the honorable Senator is not, cannot be, one of the component members of such a babal; but I must say that there has been displayed by the honorable Senator to-day a predisposition, astonishing and inexplicable, to misconceive almost all of what I have said, and a perseverance, after repeated corrections, in misunderstanding—for I will not charge him with wilfully and intentionally misrepresenting—the whole spirit and character of the address which, as a man of honor and as a Senator, I felt myself bound in duty to make to this body.

The Senator begins with saying that I charge the President with "perfidy!" Did I use any sueh language? I appeal to every gentleman who heard me to say whether I have in a single instance gone beyond a fair and legitimate examination of the Executive objections to the bill. Yet he has charged me with "arraigning" the President, with indicting him in various counts, and with imputing to him motives such as I never even intimated or dreamed, and that, when I was constantly expressing, over and over, my personal respect and regard for President Tyler, for whom I have cherished an intimate personal friendship of twenty years' standing, and while I expressly said that, if that friendship should now be interrupted, it should not be my fault! Why, sir, what possible, what conceiveable motive can I have to quarrel with the President, or to break up the Whig party? What earthly motive can impel me to wish for any other result than that that party shall remain in perfect harmony, undivided, and shall move undismayed, boldly, and unitedly forward to the accomplishment of the all-important public objects which it has avowed to be its aim? What imaginable interest of feeling can I have other than the success, the triumph, the glory of the Whig party? But that there may be designs and purposes on the part of certain other individuals to place me in inimical relations with the President, and to represent me as personally opposed to him, I can well imagine—individuals who are beating up for recruits, and endeavoring to form a third party with materials so scanty as to be wholly insufficient to compose a decent corporal's guard. I fear there are such individuals, though I do not charge the Senator as being himself one of them. What a spectacle has been presented to this nation during this entire session of Congress! That of the cherished and confidential friends of John Tyler, persons who boast and claim to be, *par excellence*, his exclusive and genuine friends, being the bitter, systematic, determined, uncompromising opponents of every leading measure of John Tyler's administration! Was there ever before such an example presented, in this or any other age, in this or any other country? I have myself known the President too long, and cherished towards him too sincere a friendship, to allow my feelings to be affected or alienated by any thing which has passed here to-day. If the President chooses—which I am sure he cannot, unless falsehood has been whispered into his ears, or poison poured into his heart—to detach himself from me, I shall deeply regret it, for the sake of our common friendship and our common country. I now repeat, what I before said, that, of all the measures of relief which the American people have called upon us for, that of a national bank and a sound and uniform currency has been the most loudly and importunately demanded. The Senator says that the question of a bank was not the issue made before the people at the late election. I can say, for one, my own conviction is diametrically the contrary. What may have been the character of the canvass in Virginia, I will not say; probably gentlemen on both sides were, every where, governed in some degree by considerations of local policy. What issues may, therefore, have been presented to the people of Virginia, either above or below tide-water, I am not prepared to say. The great error, however, of the honorable Senator is in thinking that the sentiments of a particular party in Virginia are always a fair exponent of the sentiments of the whole Union. [A laugh.] I can tell that Senator that wherever I was—in the great valley of the Mississippi—in Kentucky—in Tennessee—in Maryland—in all the circles in which I moved—every where, "Bank or no Bank" was the great, the leading, the vital question. At Hanover, in Virginia, during the last summer, at one of the most remarkable and respectable and gratifying assemblages that I ever attended, I distinctly announced my conviction that a Bank of the United States was indispensable. As to the opinions of General Harrison, I know that, like many others, he had entertained doubts as to the constitutionality of a bank, but I also know that, as the election approached, his opinions turned more and more in favor of a national bank; and I speak from my own personal knowledge of his opinions when I say that I have no more doubt he would have signed that bill than that you, Mr. President, now occupy that chair, or that I am addressing you.

I rose not to say one word which should wound the feelings of President Tyler. The Senator says that, if placed in like circumstances, I would have been the last man to avoid putting a direct veto upon the bill, had it met my disapprobation; and he does me the honor to attribute to me high qualities of stern and unbending intrepidity. I hope that in all that relates to personal firmness—all that concerns a just appreciation of the insignificance of human life—whatever may be attempted to threaten or alarm a soul not easily swayed by opposition, or awed or intimidated by menace—a stout heart and a steady eye that can survey, unmoved and undaunted, any mere personal perils that assail this poor transient, perishing frame, I may, without disparagement, compare with other men. But there is a sort of courage which, I frankly confess it, I do not possess—a boldness to which I dare not aspire—a valor which I cannot covet. I cannot lay myself down in the way of the welfare and happiness of my country. That I cannot, I have not the courage to do. I cannot interpose the power with which I may be invested—a power conferred, not for my personal benefit, nor for my aggrandizement, but for my country's good—to check her onward march to greatness and glory. I have not courage enough, I am too cowardly, for that. I would not, I dare not, in the exercise of such a trust, lie down, and place my body across the path that leads my country to prosperity and happiness. This is a sort of courage widely different from that which a man may display in his private conduct and personal relations. Personal or private courage is totally distinct from that higher and nobler courage which prompts the patriot to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice to his country's good.

Nor did I say, as the Senator represents, that the President should have resigned. I intimated no personal wish or desire that he should resign. I referred to the fact of a memorable resignation in his public life. And what I did say was, that there were other alternatives before him besides vetoing the bill; and that it was worthy of his consideration whether consistency did not require that the example which he had set when he had a constituency of one State, should not be followed when he had a constituency commensurate with the whole Union. Another alternative was, to suffer the bill, without his signature, to pass into a law under the provisions of the constitution. And I must confess I see, in this, no such escaping by the back-door, no such jumping out of the window, as the Senator talks about. Apprehensions of the imputation of the want of firmness sometimes impel us to perform rash and inconsiderate acts. It is the greatest courage to be able to bear the imputation of the want of courage. But pride, vanity, egotism, so unamiable and offensive in private life, are vices which partake of the character of crimes in the conduct of public affairs. The unfortunate victim of these passions cannot see beyond the little, petty, contemptible circle of his own personal interests. All his thoughts are withdrawn from his country, and concentrated on his consistency, his firmness, himself. The high, the exalted, the sublime emotions of a patriotism, which, soaring towards Heaven, rises far above all mean, low, or selfish things, and is absorbed by one soul-transporting thought of the good and the glory of one's country, are never felt in his impenetrable bosom. That patriotism which, catching its inspirations from the immortal God, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below all lesser, grovelling, personal interests and feelings, animates and prompts to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself—that is public virtue—that is the noblest, the sublimest of all public virtues!

I said nothing of any obligation on the part of the President to comform his judgment to the opinions of the Senate and House of Representatives, although the Senator argued as if I had, and persevered in so arguing, after repeated corrections. I said no such thing. I know and respect the perfect independence of each department, acting within its proper sphere, of other departments. But I referred to the majorities in the two houses of Congress as further and strong evidence of the opinion of the people of the United States in favor of the establishment of a Bank of the United States. And I contended that, according to the doctrine of instructions which prevailed in Virginia, and of which the President is a disciple, and in pursuance of the example already cited, he ought not to have rejected the bill.

I have heard that, on his arrival at the seat of the General Government to enter upon the duties of the office of Vice President, in March last, when interrogated how far he meant to conform, in his new station, to certain peculiar opinions which were held in Virginia, he made this patriotic and noble reply: "I am Vice President of the United States, and not of the state of Virginia; and I shall be governed by the wishes and opinions of my constituents." When I heard of this encouraging and satisfactory reply, believing, as I most religiously do, that a large majority of the people of the United States are in favor of a national bank, (and gentlemen may shut their eyes to the fact, deny or dispute, or reason it away as they please, but it is my conscientious conviction that two thirds, if not more, of the people of the United States desire such an institution,) I thought I beheld a sure and certain guaranty for the fulfilment of the wishes of the people of the United States. I thought it impossible that the wants and wishes of a great people, who had bestowed such unbounded and generous confidence, and conferred on him such exalted honors, should be disregarded and disappointed. It did not enter into my imagination to conceive that one, who had shown so much deference and respect to the presumed sentiments of a single state, should display less towards the sentiments of a whole nation.

I hope, Mr. President, that, in performing the painful duty which had devolved on me, I have not transcended the limits of legitimate debate. I repeat, in all truth and sincerity, the assurance to the Senate and to the country, that nothing but a stern, reluctant, and indispensable sense of honor and duty could have forced from me the response which I have made to the President's objections. But, instead of yielding without restraint to the feelings of disappointment and mortification excited by the perusal of his message, I have anxiously endeavored to temper the notice of it, which I have been compelled to take, by the respect due to the office of Chief Magistrate, and by the personal regard and esteem which I have ever entertained for its present incumbent.

From the National Intelligencer.

LETTERS OF RESIGNATION.

The following Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney-General, resigning their respective trusts, have been placed in our hands for publication:

Washington, Sept. 11, 1841.

SIR: Circumstances have occurred in the course of your Administration, and chiefly in the exercise by you of the veto power, which constrain me to believe that my longer continuance in office as a member of your Cabinet will be neither agreeable to you, useful to the country, nor honorable to myself.

Do me the justice, Mr. President, to believe that this conclusion has been adopted neither capriciously, nor in any spirit of party feeling or personal hostility, but from a *sense of duty*, which, mistaken though it may be, is yet so sincerely entertained, that I cheerfully sacrifice to it the advantages and distinctions of office.

Be pleased, therefore, to accept this as my resignation of the office of Attorney General of the United States.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.

J. J. CRITTENDEN.

THE PRESIDENT.

Treasury Department, Sept. 11, 1841

SIR: After the most calm and careful consideration, and viewing the subject in all the aspects in which it presents itself to my mind, I have come to the conclusion that I ought no longer to remain a member of your Cabinet. I therefore resign the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and beg you to accept this as my letter of resignation.

To avoid misunderstanding, I distinctly declare that I do not consider a difference of opinion as to the charter of a National Bank a sufficient reason for dissolving the ties which have existed between us. Though I look upon that measure as one of vast importance to the prosperity of the country, and though I should have deeply deplored your inability or unwillingness to accord it to the wishes of the People and the States, so unequivocally expressed through their Representatives, still, upon this and this alone, unconnected with other controlling circumstances, I should not have felt bound to resign the place which I hold in your Administration. But those controlling circumstances do exist, and I will, in my own justification, place them in connexion before you.

It is but just to you to say that the bill which first passed the two Houses of Congress, and which was returned with your objections on the 16th of August, did never, in its progress, as far as I know or believe, receive at any time either your express or implied assent. So far as that bill was known to me, or as I was consulted upon it, I endeavored to bring its provisions as nearly as possible in accordance with what I understood to be your views, and rather *hoped* than *expected* your approval. I knew the extent to which you were committed on the question. I knew the pertinacity with which you adhered to your expressed opinions, and I dreaded from the first the most disastrous consequences, when the project of compromise which I presented at an early day was rejected

It is equally a matter of justice to you and to myself to say that the bill which I reported to the two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the session, in obedience to their call, was modified so as to meet your approbation You may not, it is true, have read the bill throughout, and examined every part of it; but the 16th fundamental article, which became the contested question of principle, was freely discussed between us, and it was understood and unequivocally sanctioned by yourself. The last clause in the bill, also, which contained a reservation of power in Congress, was inserted on the 9th of June, in your presence, and with your approbation; though you at one time told me that, in giving your sanction to the bill, you would accompany it with an explanation of your understanding of that first clause.

In this condition of things, though I greatly regretted your veto on the bill as it passed the two Houses of Congress, and though I foresaw the excitement and agitation which it would produce among the People, yet, considering the changes which the bill had undergone in its passage, and its variance from the one you had agreed to sanction, I could not find in that act enough to disturb the confidential relations which existed between us. I was disposed to attribute this act, fraught with mischief as it was, to pure and honorable motives, and to a conscientious conviction on your part that the bill, in some of its provisions, conflicted with the Constitution But that opinion of your course on the bill which has just been returned to Congress with your second veto, I do not and cannot entertain. Recur to what has passed between us with respect to it, and you will at once perceive that such opinion is impossible.

On the morning of the 16th of August, I called at your chamber, and found you preparing the first veto message to be despatched to the Senate. The Secretary of War came in also, and you read a portion of the message to us. He observed that, though the veto would create a great sensation in Congress, yet he thought the minds of our friends better prepared for it than they were some days ago, and he hoped it would be calmly received, especially as it did not shut out all hope of a bank. To this you replied, that you really thought there ought to be no difficulty about it; that you had sufficiently indicated in your veto message what kind of a bank you would approve, and that Congress might, if they saw fit, pass one in three days.

The 18th being the day for our regular Cabinet meeting, we assembled, all except Messrs. Crittenden and Granger, and you told us that you had a long conversation with Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant, who professed to come in behalf of the Whigs of the two Houses to endeavor to strike out some measure which would generally be acceptable. That you had your doubts about the propriety of conversing with them yourself, and thought it more proper that you should commune with them through your constitutional advisers. You expressed a wish that the whole subject should be postponed till the next session of Congress. You spoke of the delay in the Senate of the consideration of your veto message, and expressed anxiety as to the tone and temper which the debate would assume.

Mr. Badger said that on inquiry he was happy to find that the best temper prevailed in the two Houses. He believed they were perfectly ready to take up the bill reported by the Secretary of the Treasury, and pass it at once. You replied, 'Talk not to me of Mr. Ewing's bill; it contains that odious feature of local discounts which I have repudiated in my message.' 'I then said to you, I have no doubt, sir, that the House, having ascertained your views, will pass a bill in conformity to them, provided they can be satisfied that it would answer the purposes of the Treasury, and relieve the country.' You then said, 'Cannot my Cabinet see that this is brought about? You must stand by me in this emergency. Cannot you see that a bill passes Congress such as I can approve without inconsistency?' I declared again my belief that such a bill might be passed. And you then said to me, 'What do you understand to be my opinions? State them, so that I may see that there is no misapprehension about them.'

I then said that I understood you to be of opinion that Congress might charter a bank in the District of Columbia, giving it its location here. To this you assented. That they might authorize such bank to establish offices of discount and deposite in the several States, with the assent of the States. To this you replied, 'Don't name discounts: they have been the source of the most abominable corruptions, and are wholly unnecessary to enable the bank to discharge its duties to the country and the Government.

I observed in reply that I was proposing nothing, but simply endeavoring to state what I had understood to be your opinion as to the powers which Congress might constitutionally confer on a bank; that on that point I stood corrected. I then proceeded to say that I understood you to be of opinion that Congress might authorize such bank to establish agencies in the several States, with power to deal in bills of exchange, without the assent of the States, to which you replied, 'Yes, if they be foreign bills, or bills drawn in one state and payable in another. That is all the power necessary for transmitting the public funds and regulating exchanges and the currency.'

Mr. Webster then expressed, in strong terms, his opinion that such a charter would answer all just purposes of Government and be satisfactory to the People; and declared his preference for it over any which had been proposed, especially as it dispensed with the assent of the States to the creation of an institution necessary for carrying on the fiscal operations of Government. He examined it at some length, both as to its constitutionality and its influence on the currency and exchanges, in all which views you expressed your concurrence, desired that such a bill should be introduced, and especially that it should go into the hands of your *friends*. To my inquiry, whether Mr. Sergeant would be agreeable to you, you replied that he would. You especially requested Mr. Webster and myself to communicate with Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant on the subject, to whom you said you had promised to address a note, but you doubted not that this personal communication would be equally satisfactory. You desired, also, in communicating with those gentlemen, not to commit you personally, lest, this being recognised as your measure, it might be made a subject of comparison to your prejudice in the course of discussion. You and Mr. Webster then conversed about the particular wording of the 16th fundamental article, containing the grant of power to deal in exchanges, and of the connexion in which that grant should be introduced; you also spoke of the name of the institution, desiring that *that* should be changed. To this I objected, as it would probably be made a subject of ridicule, but you insisted that there was much in a name, and this institution ought not to be called a bank Mr. Webster undertook to adapt it in this particular to your wishes. Mr. Bell then observed to Mr. Webster and myself that we had no time to lose; that if this were not immediately attended to, another bill, less acceptable, might be got up and reported. We replied that we would lose no time. Mr. Webster accordingly called on Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant immediately, and I waited on them by his appointment at 5 o'clock on the same day, and agreed upon the principles of the bill in accordance with your expressed wishes. And I am apprised of the fact, though it did not occur in my presence, that after the bill was drawn up, and before it was reported, it was seen and examined by yourself; that your attention was specially called to the 16th fundamental article; that on full examination you concurred in its provisions; that at the same time its name was so modified as to meet your approbation; and the bill was reported and passed, in all essential particulars, as it was when it came through your hands.

You asked Mr. Webster and myself each to prepare and present you an argument touching the constitutionality of the bill; and before those arguments could be prepared and read by you, you declared, as I heard and believe, to gentlemen, members of the House, that you would cut off your right hand rather than approve it. After this new resolution was taken, you asked and earnestly urged the members of your Cabinet to postpone the bill; but you would neither give yourself, nor suffer them to give, any assurance of your future course, in case of such postponement. By some of us, and I was myself one, the effort was made to gratify your wishes, in the only way in which it could be done with propriety; that is, by obtaining the general concurrence of the Whig members of the two Houses in the postponement. It failed, as I have reason to believe, because you would give no assurance that the delay was not sought as means and occasion for hostile movements. During this season of deep feeling and earnest exertion upon our part, while we were zealously devoting our talents and influence to serve and to sustain you, the very secrets of our Cabinet councils made their appearance in an infamous paper printed in a neighboring city, the columns of which were daily charged with flattery of yourself and foul abuse of your Cabinet. All this I bore; for I felt that my services, so long as they could avail, were due to the nation—to that great and magnanimous People, whose suffrages elevated your predecessor to the station which you now fill, and whose united voices approved his act when he summoned us around him, to be his counsellors; and I felt that what was due to his memory, to the injunctions which he left us in his last dying words, and to the People, whose servants we were, had not all been performed until every means was tried, and every hope had failed of carrying out the true principles upon which the mighty movement was founded that elevated him and you to power.

This bill, framed and fashioned according to your own suggestions, in the initiation of which I and another member of your Cabinet were made by you the agents and the negotiators, was passed by large majorities through the two Houses of Congress, and sent to you, and you rejected it. Important as was the part which I had taken, at your request, in the origination of this bill, and deeply as I was committed for your action upon it, you never consulted me on the subject of the veto message. You did not even refer to it in conversation, and the first notice I had of its contents was derived from rumor.

And to me, at least, you have done nothing to wipe away the personal indignity arising out of the act. I gathered, it is true, from your conversation, shortly after the bill had passed the House, that you had a strong purpose to reject it; but nothing was said like softening or apology to me, either in reference to myself or to those with whom I had communicated at your request, and who had acted themselves and induced the two Houses to act upon the faith of that communication. And, strange as it may seem, the Veto Message attacks in an especial manner the very provisions which were inserted at your request; and even the name of the corporation, which was not only agreed to by you, but especially changed to meet your criticism. Different men might view this transaction in different points of light, but, under these circumstances, as a matter of personal honor, it would be hard for me to remain of your counsel, to seal my lips and leave unexplained and undisclosed whose lips in this transaction the departure from straightforwardness and candor. So far indeed from admitting the encouragement which you gave to this bill in its incep-

ation, and explaining and excusing your sudden and violent hostility towards it, you throw into your Veto Message an interrogatory equivalent to an assertion that it was such a bill as you had already declared could not receive your sanction. Such is the obvious effect of the first interrogatory clause on the second page. It has all the force of an assertion without its open fairness. I have met and refuted this, the necessary inference from your language, in my preceding statement, the correctness of which you I am sure will not call in question.

Your veto to the first bill you rested on constitutional ground and the high convictions of conscience; and no man, in my opinion, had a right to question your sincerity. I so said, and so acted, for, through all the contest and the collision that arose out of that act, you had my adherence and support. But how is it with respect to this? The subject of a bank is not new to you; it is more than twenty years that you have made it an object of consideration and of study, especially in its connexion with the constitutional powers of the General Government. You, therefore, could not be, and you were not, taken unprepared on this question.

The bill which I reported to Congress, with your approbation, at the commencement of the session, had the clause relating to agencies, and the power to deal in exchanges, as strongly developed as the one you have now rejected, and equally without the assent of the States. You referred specially and with approbation to that clause, many days after, in a conversation held in the Department of State. You sanctioned it in this particular bill as detailed above. And no doubt was thrown out on the subject by you, in my hearing, or within my knowledge, until the letter of Mr. Butler came to you hands. Soon after the reading of that letter, you threw out strong intimations that you would veto the bill if it were not postponed. That letter I did and do most unequivocally condemn, but it did not affect the constitutionality of the bill, or justify you in rejecting it on that ground: it could affect only the expediency of your action; and, whatever you may now believe as to the scruples existing in your mind, in this and in a kindred source there is strong ground to believe they have their origin.

If I be right in this, and I doubt not I am, here is a great public measure demanded by the country, passed upon and approved by the Representatives of the States and the People, rejected by you as President on grounds having no origin in conscience, and no reference to the public good. The rejection of this measure, too, continues the purse with the sword in the hands of the Executive, from which we strove to wrest it in the contest which elevated your predecessor and you to power. I cannot concur in this your course of policy. In or out of office my opinions remain unchanged. I cannot abandon the principles for which, during all my political career, I have struggled; especially I cannot be one of the instruments by which the Executive wields these combined, accumulated, and dangerous powers.

These, sir, are the reasons for the important step which I have felt it my duty to take, and I submit them as its justification.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

T. EWING.

To the PRESIDENT.

Washington, September 13, 1841.

To Messrs. Gales & Seaton:

Gentlemen: Lest any misapprehension should exist, as to the reasons which have led me to differ from the course pursued by my late colleagues, I wish to say that I remain in my place, first, because I have seen no sufficient reasons for the dissolution of the late Cabinet, by the voluntary act of its own members.

I am perfectly persuaded of the absolute necessity of an institution, under the authority of Congress, to aid revenue and financial operations, and to give the country the blessings of a good currency and cheap exchanges.

Notwithstanding what has passed, I have confidence that the President will co-operate with the Legislature in overcoming all difficulties in the attainment of these objects; and it is to the union of the Whig party—by which I mean the whole party, the Whig President, the Whig Congress, and the Whig People—that I look for a realization of our wishes. I can look nowhere else.

In the second place, if I had seen reasons to resign my office, I should not have done so, without giving the President reasonable notice, and affording him time to select the hands to which he should confide the delicate and important affairs now pending in this Department.

I am, gentlemen, respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The following Letter from the Secretary of State to one of his personal friends in the city of New York, which we find in the New York American of Thursday, belongs to the history of current events:

Washington, Sept. 11, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your kind and friendly letter.

You will have learned that Messrs. Ewing, Bell, Badger, and Crittenden have resigned their respective offices. Probably Mr. Granger will feel bound to follow the example. This occurrence can only cause you the same degree of regret which it has occasioned to me—as they are not only my friends, but persons with whom I have had for some time a daily official intercourse. I could not participate in this movement. It is supposed to be justified, I presume, by the differences which have arisen between the President and Congress upon the means of establishing a proper Fiscal Agency and restoring a sound state of the currency, and collateral matters growing out of those differences. I regret these differences as deeply as any man; but I have not been able to see in what manner the resignation of the Cabinet was likely either to remove or mitigate the evils produced by them. On the contrary, my only reliance for a remedy for those evils has been, and is, on the union, conciliation, and perseverance of the whole Whig party; and I by no means despair of seeing yet accomplished, by these means, all that we desire. It may render us more patient under disappointment in regard to one measure to recollect, as is justly stated by the President in his last message, how great a number of important measures has been already successfully carried through. I hardly know when such a mass of business has been despatched in a single session of Congress.

The annual winter session is now near at hand: the same Congress is again soon to assemble, and feeling deeply as I ever did the indispensable necessity of some suitable provision for the keeping of the public money, for aid to the operations of the treasury, and to the high public interests of currency and exchange, I am not in haste to believe that the party which has now the predominance will not, in all these respects, yet fulfil the expectations of the country. If it shall not, then our condition is forlorn indeed. But, for one, I will not give up the hope.

My particular connexion with the Administration, is in another department. I think very humbly—none can think more humbly—of the value of the services which I am able to render to the public in that post. But as there is, so far as I know, on all subjects affecting our foreign relations, a concurrence of opinion between the President and myself, and as there is nothing to disturb the harmony of our intercourse, I have not felt it consistent with the duty which I owe the country to run the risk, by any sudden or abrupt proceeding, of embarrassing the Executive in regard to subjects and questions now immediately pending, and which intimately affect the preservation of the peace of the country.

I am, dear sir, with constant regard, yours, &c.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

H. KETCHUM, Esq. New York.

CONGRESSIONAL WHIG MEETING.

At a meeting of the Whig members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 27th Congress of the United States, held in the City of Washington on the 11th September, 1841—

The Hon. Nathan F. Dixon, of Rhode Island, on the part of the Senate, and the Hon. Jeremiah Morrow, of Ohio, on the part of the House, were called to the chair, and Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, Christopher Morgan, of New York, and Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, were appointed Secretaries.

Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved. That it is expedient for the Whigs of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to publish an Address to the People of the United States, containing a succinct exposition of the prominent proceedings of the extra session of Congress, of the measures that have been adopted, and those in which they have failed, and the causes of such failure: together with such other matters as may exhibit truly the condition of the Whig party and Whig prospects.

Resolved. That a committee of three on the part of the Senate, and five on the part of the House, be appointed to prepare such Address, and submit it to a meeting of the Whigs on Monday morning next, the 13th instant, at half-past eight o'clock.

And the question being taken on said resolutions, they were *unanimously* adopted.

Whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed said committee: Messrs. Berrien, of Georgia, Tallmadge, of New York, and Smith, of Indiana, on the part of the Senate: and Messrs. Everett, of Vermont, Mason, of Ohio, Kennedy, of Maryland, John C. Clark, of New York, and Rayner, of North Carolina, on the part of the House.

When, on motion, the meeting adjourned, to meet again on Monday morning.

Monday, September 13 :841.

The meeting assembled, pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, from the committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following Address:

Fellow Citizens: The Extra Session of Congress has, at length, been brought to a close. The incidents which belong to the history of this session, and especially those which have marked its termination, are of a nature to make so strong an impression upon the country, and to excite so much interest in the future action and relations of the Whig party, that the Whig representation in both Houses of Congress have thought it their duty, before separating, to address their constituents with a brief exposition of the circumstances in which they conceive themselves to be placed by the events which have recently transpired.

This session of Congress was called as almost the first measure of that illustrious and lamented citizen whose election to the Presidency was no less significant of the general sentiment of condemnation of the acts of the preceding Administration, than it was expressive of a wish for an immediate and radical change in the public policy. The improvidence of those who had just been expelled from power had rendered it inevitable; and the country hailed the meeting of a new Congress as the sure pledge of relief from all those evils which the disastrous incompetency of the men at the head of affairs had brought upon it.

The people desired the early adoption of the policy which had been promised them by the Whig party. That policy had been brought to the consideration of the country throughout a contest of nearly twelve years' duration, maintained with unexampled devotion; and its principles were illustrated by the precepts and practice of the most eminent and patriotic of our citizens in every form by which they were able to address themselves to the intelligence of the People. No one misapprehended these principles; they were identified with the labors of that great party whose unparalleled success was both the token and the reward of the general confidence of the nation. They promised reform—

1st. In the restraint of Executive power and patronage;

2d. In the wholesome regulation of the currency and the advancement of the interests of industry; and

3d. In the establishment of an economical administration of the finances.

They proposed to accomplish the first of these objects by limiting the service of the President to a single term; by forbidding all officers of the Government from interfering in elections; and by a voluntary self-denial, on the part of the Chief Magistrate, in that excessive use of the Veto power which had recently become offensive to the country as an instrument of party supremacy.

They hoped to achieve their next object by the establishment of a National Bank; by an adjustment of the system of duties upon a moderate and permanent scale, adapted as nearly as practicable to the interest, and conformable with the views of every portion of the Union; by the establishment of a uniform system of bankruptcy; and by the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands amongst the States—a measure recommended not only by considerations of justice to the States themselves, but also by a sad experience of the embarrassment produced in the currency resulting from the administration of a fund of such variable amount as an item in the ordinary revenues of the Government. The establishment of an economical administration of the finances they expected to attain by cutting down all useless offices; by enforcing a strict accountability of the public agents; and, more conspicuously, by making exact and adequate provision for the ascertainment and eventual liquidation of that public debt which the past Administration had created by permitting their expenditures to overrun their receipts, and which they had concealed from public observation by the easy device of repeated issues of Government notes.

These were the prominent points to which the policy of the Whig party had been directed, and which constituted the great issues before the country in the recent Presidential election. We are aware that our adversaries in that contest now deny these issues, founding their denial chiefly upon the fact that no formal manifesto was put forth to declare the terms upon which we insisted. We chose rather to appeal to the widely-diffused knowledge of our principles which had been impressed upon every man's mind in that long struggle of years gone by; with which one party had been identified, and of which its very name was an exponent.

It need not be said that, in a representation spread over a territory of such extent as that comprehended by our Union, and exhibiting interests so diversified, what might be called the characteristic principles of the Whig party, throughout this wide sphere, should be subject to occasional modifications, dependent upon local influences; and that it was incumbent therefore, upon the party to move together in a spirit of mutual concession and accommodation of sectional differences of opinion. It need not be told that, in the system of measures we have enumerated, conflicting views might naturally exist between the Representatives of distant portions of our Republic, and that only by the yielding of minor interests to the establishment of the general good, entire harmony was to be obtained in the action of Congress. This was natural, and to be expected. But we felt a proud consciousness that in the patriotism of the party all such difficulties would vanish, and the demands of an enlarged welfare would be met and fulfilled through the virtue of that spirit of compromise and forbearance, that liberal and comprehensive sentiment of self denial and concession, which rests at the heart of our confederacy, and which constitutes the living principle of our union. Before the appointed day arrived for the meeting of Congress, and at the expiration of but one short month from the date of his inauguration, our beloved President was snatched from us by the grasp of death: too soon for the happiness of his country, but not too soon to awaken in our bosoms a deep and awful sense of the irreparable loss which we have sustained in the deprivation of a great and good man—not too soon to convince us how long and how bitterly our country is doomed to deplore this heavy misfortune. In this our calamity, we hoped to find consolation in the character and principles of him whom the Constitution had designated to fill the office of the departed chief. It is true, that towards that individual, even at the moment of his selection for the Vice Presidency, no very earnest public attention had been directed; and it is equally true that but a passing regard was bestowed upon the current of his previous life and opinions. We only knew him as one professing to be a member of the Whig party, and as seeking to identify himself with those great leaders of that party whose opinions and principles were deeply engraved in the most conspicuous acts of our political history, and were read and understood by every citizen in the land. In this connection, where he had sought to be prominent, we discerned what we conceived, and what doubtless he meant, to be a pledge of faithful adherence to the cardinal doctines for which we struggled, and with which the hopes of the country were indissolubly bound up. We hoped to find consolation also in the fact that his accession to the Presidency brought him into communion and intimate political fellowship with the chosen vanguard of the Whig party—the first selection made by general Harrison of a Cabinet distinguished for its paramount ability, integrity, and fidelity to the glorious cause in which we had conquered—a Cabinet eminently crowned with the public confidence, in whom all men trusted as in the very embodiment of the principles of the party to which they belonged: who were inseparably associated with its glory, and in whose generous and honorable relation to the President we had the security of wise and prosperous counsels, and he the pledge of a co operation which should enable him to accomplish all that the nation desired. These hopes were still further enlivened by the encouraging tone in which the President referred to his first address to the nation, to the "ever glorious example" afforded him by the Fathers of the great Republican school, and the declaration of his determination to walk in the path which they pointed out.

In the indulgence of these hopes, Congress entered upon its labors. By adopting rules for the despatch of business conformable to the emergency of an extra session, and in view of the great amount of legislation which the times required, we have been enabled to achieve all, and even more than all, that our constituents could have demanded at our hands. The leading and great measures of this session have been under discussion, in Congress and out of it, for many years past, and little remained to be said beyond a repetition of former debates. There was nothing in the circumstances or position of either party in Congress to require, or even to justify, protracted discussions; and the majority, therefore, felt themselves entitled to give to the extra session the character of a Congress of action and decision, rather than one of debate; and we feel assured that in this effort we have done no more than respond to the just expectations of the People.

First in urgency amongst the bills passed during the session, and that to which the public command most imperatively drew the notice of Congress, was the repeal of the sub-Treasury Law. Our next care was the enactment of the Land Bill. This was followed by an act converting the Debt which the preceding Administration had entailed upon the country into a Loan of twelve millions of dollars, which is limited for its redemption to a period of three years. Associated with this measure was the Revenue Bill, rendered necessary not only as a provision towards the extinguishment of the loan, but also as indispensable for the supply of means to meet the ordinary and necessary appropriations of the year. The Bankrupt Act, so earnestly and so long solicited by a large and meritorious class of our citizens, has been passed under circumstances which cannot but reflect the highest honor upon the Representatives of many sections of the country. As a measure standing alone, it might perhaps have been destined to a further delay; but being brought, as it was, into that series of measures which were supposed to embrace the scheme of relief which the nation at large required, it met from a Whig Congress that support of which the chief argument and highest value are derived from the respect which every one felt to be due to a comprehensive policy, whose scope should include every interest in the nation. It is a trial for the benefit of the country, and remains to be altered or improved, as the public wants may hereafter be found to require. The importance, in the present posture of our affairs, of attending to the national defences suggested the measures of establishing a Home Squadron, of repairing and arming the Fortifications, of providing for the defence of the Lakes, and of bringing the nation at large into a state of readiness against hostile aggression—in regard to which measures, as great unanimity prevailed in Congress, we may safely assure ourselves they will meet the undivided approbation of our constituents throughout the whole Union.

This rapid review, fellow citizens, will exhibit what we have done. What we have failed to do remains to be told.

It is with profound and poignant regret that we find ourselves called upon to invoke your attention to this point. Upon the great and leading measure touching this question our anxious endeavors to respond to the earnest prayer of the nation have been frustrated by an act as unlooked-for as it is to be lamented. We grieve to say to you that, by the exercise of that power in the Constitution which has ever been regarded with suspicion, and often with odium, by the People—a power which we had hoped was never to be exhibited, on this subject, by a Whig President—we have been defeated in two attempts to create a Fiscal Agent, which the wants of the country had demonstrated to us, in the most absolute form of proof, to be eminently necessary and proper in the present emergency. Twice have we, with the utmost diligence and deliberation, matured a plan for the collection, safe keeping, and disbursing of the public moneys, through the agency of a corporation adapted to that end, and twice has it been our fate to encounter the opposition of the President, through the application of the veto power. The character of that veto in each case, the circumstances in which it was administered, and the grounds upon which it has met the decided disapprobation of your friends in Congress, are sufficiently apparent in the public documents and the debates relating to it. This subject has acquired a painful interest with us, and will doubtless acquire it with you, from the unhappy developments with which it is accompanied. We are constrained to say that we find no ground to justify us in the conviction that the veto of the President has been interposed on this question solely upon conscientious and well-considered opinions of constitutional scruple as to his duty in the case presented. On the contrary, too many proofs have been forced upon our observation to leave us free from the apprehension that the President has permitted himself to be beguiled into an opinion that, by this exhibition of his prerogative, he might be able to divert the policy of his Administration into a channel which should lead to new political combinations, and accomplish results which must overthrow the present divisions of party in the country, and finally produce a state of things which those who elected him, at least, have never contemplated. We have seen, from an early period of the session, that the Whig party did not enjoy the confidence of the President. With mortification we have observed that his associations more sedulously aimed at a free communion with those who have been busy to prostrate our purposes rather than those whose principles seemed to be most identified with the power by which he was elected. We have reason to believe that he has permitted himself to be approached, counselled, and influenced by those who have manifested least interest in the success of Whig measures. What were represented to be his opinions and designs have been freely, and even insolently put forth in certain portions, and those not the most reputable, of the public press, in a manner that ought to be deemed offensive to his honor, as it certainly was to the feelings of those who were believed to be his friends. In the earnest endeavor manifested by the members of the Whig party in Congress to ascertain specifically the President's notions in reference to the details of such a bill relating to a Fiscal Agent as would be likely to meet his approbation, the frequent changes of his opinion and the singular want of consistency in his views have baffled his best friends, and rendered the hope of adjustment with him impossible.

Congress, early in the session, called upon the Secretary of the Treasury for the plan of a Fiscal Agent: the result of this call was a bill which was reported in detail with an argument in its favor, and it was, as we had a right to regard it, received by all as the bill of the President. In fact, it was known to contain provisions in reference to the assent of the States, which corresponded with the private opinion of no member of the Cabinet. This bill the President had even informed more than one member of the House he would be willing to sign if passed by Congress: yet it contained provision for *local discounting*, in regard to which his Veto Message affirms his objection to be altogether insuperable. The President has subsequently declared that this was not his measure, and that when he said he would sign this bill he had not read it. The plan of an Exchange Bank, such as was reported after the first Veto, the President is understood by more than one member of Congress to whom he expressed his opinion, to have regarded as a favorite measure. It was in view of this opinion, suggested as it is in his first Veto, and after using every proper effort to ascertain his precise views upon it, that the committee of the House of Representatives reported their second bill. It made provision for a bank without the privilege of local discounting, and was adapted, as closely as possible, to that class of mercantile operations which the first Veto Message describes with approbation, and which that paper specifically illustrates by reference to the "dealings in the exchanges" of the Bank of the United States in 1833, which the President affirms "amounted to upwards of one hundred millions of dollars." Yet this plan, when it was submitted to him, was objected to on a new ground. The last Veto has narrowed the question of a bank down to the basis of the sub-Treasury scheme, and it is obvious from the opinions of that message that the country is not to expect any thing better than the exploded sub-Treasury, or some measure of the same character, from Mr. Tyler.

In the midst of all these varieties of opinion, an impenetrable mystery seemed to hang over the whole question. There was no such frank interchange of sentiment as ought to characterize the intercourse of a President and his friends, and the last persons in the Government who would seem to have been entrusted with his confidence on those embarrassing topics were the constitutional advisers which the laws had provided for him.

In this review of the position into which the late events have thrown the Whig party, it is with profound sorrow we look to the course pursued by the President. He has wrested from us one of the best fruits of a long and painful struggle, and the consummation of a glorious victory: he has even perhaps thrown us once more upon the field of political strife, not weakened in numbers, nor shorn of the support of the country, but stripped of the arms which success had placed in our hands, and left again to rely upon that high patriotism, which for twelve years sustained us in a conflict of unequalled asperity, and which finally brought us to the fulfilment of those brilliant hopes which he has done so much to destroy.

In this state of things, the Whigs will naturally look with anxiety to the future, and inquire what are the actual relations between the President and those who brought him into power; and what, in the opinion of their friends in Congress, should be their course hereafter. On both of these questions we feel it to be our duty to address you in perfect frankness and without reserve, but, at the same time, with due respect to others.

In regard to the first, we are constrained to say, that the President, by the course he has adopted in respect to the application of the veto power to two successive bank charters, each of which there was just reason to believe would meet his approbation: by his withdrawal of confidence from his real friends in Congress and from the members of his Cabinet; by his bestowal of it upon others notwithstanding their notorious opposition to leading measures of his Administration, has voluntarily separated himself from those by whose exertions and suffrages he was elevated to that office through which he reached his present exalted station. The existence of this unnatural relation is as extraordinary as the announciation of it is painful and mortifying. What are the consequences and duties which grow out of it?

The first consequence is, that those who brought the President into power can be no longer, in any manner or degree, justly held responsible or blamed for the administration of the Executive branch of the Government; and that the President and his advisers should be exclusively hereafter deemed accountable. But, as by the joint acts of Providence and the People he is constitutionally invested with the powers of Chief Magistrate, whilst he remains in office he should be be treated with perfect respect by all. And it will be the duty of the Whigs, in and out of Congress, to give to his official acts and measures fair and full consideration, approving them and co-operating in their support where they can, and dissenting from and opposing any of them only from a high sense of public duty.

The more important question remains to be touched. What ought to be the future line of conduct of the Whig party in the extraordinary emergency which now exists?

They came into power to accomplish great and patriotic objects. By the zeal and perseverance of the majorities in Congress, some of the most important of those objects have been carried at the extra session. Others yet remain to be effected. The conduct the President has occasioned bitter mortification and deep regret. Shall the party, therefore, yeilding to sentiments of despair, abandon its duty, and submit to defeat and disgrace? Far from suffering such dishonorable consequences, the very disappointment which it has unfortunately experienced should serve only to redouble its exertions, and to inspire it with fresh courage to persevere with a spirit unsubdued and a resolution unshaken, until the prosperity of the country is fully re-established, and its liberties firmly secured against all danger from the abuses, encroachments, or usurpations of the Executive department of the Government.

At the head of the duties which remain for the Whigs to perform towards their country stands conspicuously and preeminently above all others—

First, A reduction of the Executive power, by a further limitation of the Veto, so as to secure obedience to the public will, as that shall be expressed by the immediate Representatives of the People and the States, with no other control than that which is indispensible to avert hasty or unconstitutional legislation.

By the adoption of a single term for the incumbent of the Presidential office.

By a separation of the Purse from the Sword, and with that view to place the appointment of the Head of the Treasury in Congress; and

By subjecting the power of dismissal from office to just restrictions, so as to render the President amenable for its exercise.

Second. The establishment by Congress of a fiscal agent, competent to collect, safely keep, and disburse the public moneys, to restore the currency, and to equalize the exchanges of the country; and

Third. The introduction of economy in the administration of the Government, and the discontinuance of all sinecures and useless offices.

To the effectuation of these objects ought the exertions of the Whigs hereafter to be directed. Those only should be chosen members of Congress who are willing cordially to co-operate in the accomplishment of them. Instead of striking our flag, let it be reared still higher, with a firmer hand, bearing upon its folds in conspicuous letters, "The Will of the Nation uncontrolled by the will of ONE MAN: one Presidential term, a frugal Government, and no sub Treasury, open or covert, in the substance or in fact: no government bank, but an institution capable of guarding the People's treasure and administering to the People's wants."

Rallying under that banner, let us appeal to that People whose patriotic exertions led to victory in the late glorious struggle. Let us invoke the action of the Legislative Councils of the sovereign States of this Union. Instructed by their immediate constituents, let them ascertain and express the public will in relation to these great questions; and especially let them, within their respective constitutional spheres, exert themselves to give it effect.

Animated by these principles, and guid-

ed by Providence, defeat is impossible, and triumphant success inevitable. We may confidently hope, that vast numbers of our fellow-citizens, who have been hitherto separated from us, will unite with us under such a glorious standard; and that majorities in both Houses of Congress sufficiently large may be secured to carry any measure demanded by the welfare of the nation, in spite of the interposition of the power with which any one man may have been accidentally invested. Disappointed in that, if such should be our lot, there will remain the hope of an amendment of the Constitution, curtailing the Executive power. And if that should fail, we have only to recur to the noble example of our ancestors, to recollect the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, and to bear with manly fortitude three years longer the suffering inflicted during the last twelve years by the maladministration of the Executive department of the Government. We shall have the consolation of reflecting that, in the mean time, if the President can prevent the attainment of all the good which Congress is desirous to accomplish, Congress may check or prevent some of the mischiefs which, under a different state of majorities in the body, he might have the power to impose.

J. MACPHERSON BERRIEN.
N. P. TALLMADGE,
O. H. SMITH,
Committee of the Senate.

J. P. KENNEDY,
S. MASON,
HORACE EVERETT,
J. C. CLARK,
K. RAYNER,
Committee of the House of Reps.

Whereupon the question was taken upon the adoption of said Address, and it was *unanimously* adopted.

Ordered, That twenty thousand copies of said Address be printed, and circulated among the people of the United States.

Ordered, That said Address be signed by the members of the committee appointed to prepare the same, and that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Presidents, and countersigned by the Secretaries.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

NATHAN F. DIXON, } *Pres's.*
JEREMIAH MORROW, }
K. RAYNER, } *Sec's.*
CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, }
R. W. THOMPSON, }

COMPLETE LIST OF ACTS,

PASSED AT THE 1ST SESSION OF THE 27TH CONGRESS.

An act making appropriations for the present session of Congress.

An act authorizing a loan not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of dollars.

An act for the relief of Mrs. Harrison, widow of the late President of the United States.

An act making appropriation for the pay, subsistence, &c. of a home squadron.

An act making further provision for the maintenance of pauper lunatics in the District of Columbia.

An act to revive and continue in force for ten years an act entitled "An act to incorporate the Mechanic Relief Society of Alexandria."

An act to repeal an act entitled "An act to provide for the collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursement of the public revenue," and to provide for the punishment of embezzlers of public money, and for other purposes.

An act to provide for the payment of Navy pensions.

An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States.

An act further to extend the time for locating Virginia military land warrants, and returning surveys thereon to the General Land Office.

An act to authorize the recovery of fines and forfeitures incurred under the charter, laws, and ordinances of Georgetown, before justices of the peace.

An act to revive and extend the charters of several banks in the District of Columbia.

An act in addition to an act entitled "An act to carry into effect a convention between the United States and the Mexican Republic."

An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for taking the sixth census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States," approved March third, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, and the acts amending the same.

An act making an appropriation for the funeral expenses of William Henry Harrison, deceased, late President of the United States.

An act to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of public lands, and to grant pre-emption rights.

An act making appropriations for various fortifications, for ordnance, and for preventing and suppressing Indian hostilities.

An act to provide for placing Greenough's statue of Washington in the Rotunda of the Capitol, and for expenses therein mentioned.

An act authorizing the transmission of letters and packets to and from Mrs. Harrison free of postage.

An act to make appropriations for the Post Office Department.

An act making an appropriation for the purchase of naval ordnance and ordnance stores, and for other purposes.

An act making appropriations for outfits and salaries of diplomatic agents, and for other purposes.

An act to provide for repairing the Potomac bridge.

An act relating to duties and drawbacks.

An act to repeal a part of the sixth section of the act entitled "An act to provide for the support of the Military Academy of the United States for the year 1838, and for other purposes," passed July 7, 1838.

JOINT RESOLUTIONS.

A resolution relating to the light-boats now stationed at Sandy Hook and Bartlett's Reef.

A resolution for the distribution of seven hundred copies of the Digest of Patents.

A resolution to provide for the distribution of the printed returns of the sixth census.

A resolution in relation to the purchase of domestic water-rotted hemp for the use of the United States Navy.

Joint resolution making it the duty of the Attorney General to examine into the titles of the lands or sites for the purpose of erecting thereon armories and other public works and buildings, and for other purposes.

HILLSBOROUGH.

Thursday, September 23.

The extra session of the Congress of the United States was brought to a close on Monday the 13th instant. A list of the acts passed will be found in another column.

THE WHIG ADDRESS.—We copy from the National Intelligencer to-day, the able address of the Whig members of Congress to the People of the United States, adopted at a meeting held on the 13th inst.

This paper sets forth in a clear manner what the Whig party has done towards carrying out the great measures which they had either expressly or impliedly promised for the melioration of the affairs of the country; and the causes of the failure in the establishment of a Fiscal Agent, so imperatively required for the fiscal operations of the government and the equalization of the exchanges.

Throughout, the address exhibits a spirit of moderation and firmness worthy of the cause, and a determination, by union and perseverance, to accomplish all the great purposes for which the Whig party have been so long struggling.

Where is the Whig—where the lover of his country—who will not assist in bearing aloft the flag, displaying upon its ample folds the patriotic motto—"The Will of the Nation uncontrolled by the will of One Man—One Presidential term—a frugal government—and no Sub-Treasury, open or covert, in substance or in fact—no Government Bank, but an Institution capable of guarding the People's treasure, and administering to the People's wants."

Mr. Ewing's letter, a masterly production, will be found in our paper to-day. The truth of his statement no one can doubt; and the facts which he exhibits are a full justification of the course which he has adopted.

Mr. Webster, we learn from the National Intelligencer, will remain at the head of the new organization of the cabinet, equally in compliance with the wishes of the President and the unanimous recommendation of his (Mr. W.'s) private friends.

We regret to see that a portion of the Whig press indulge in very indiscreet censure of Mr. Webster's determination in this matter. So far from censuring him in this particular, we confess that we are highly pleased; for we regard the honorable and amicable adjustment of our difficulties with England as of more importance even than the establishment of a National Bank, as much as we are convinced of the necessity of such an institution. And no man in the nation, we verily believe, is better qualified to manage this delicate affair than Daniel Webster.

Though we decidedly condemn the vascillating course of President Tyler, we cannot consent to sacrifice the best interests of the nation to hasten his overthrow.

A female friend, whom we have not the pleasure of knowing but by name, sent us, a few days ago, a very large APPLE of the species called "bull's head," weighing 21 ounces and measuring 14½ inches in circumference! A pretty sizeable apple this. We would return our thanks for this generous gift in "the most approved style."

WORTHY OF NOTICE.—We were shown the other day, a pair of Socks in progress, knit on four needles both at the same time! the skillful handiwork of Mr. Samuel Holman's "better half." What makes this more creditable to the ingenuity of the good lady, is the fact that she worked them out without the slightest suggestion from any one as to the *modus operandi*, having merely seen it stated in a paper that some lady had before knit a pair in the same manner. Yankee ingenuity! fudge! we have as much ingenuity as our northern brethren, if "necessity" would only bring it into action.

At the Superior Court of Law held at this place last week, Judge NASH presiding, *Anderson Mayho*, a free negro, charged with the murder of his wife, was convicted, and sentenced to be hung on Saturday the 9th of October next.

The trial of *Tudor*, charged with the murder of James Roney, is postponed until March term.

John Day, a free negro, indicted for a forcible trespass in entering the bed-room of a white female with criminal intentions, was found guilty, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of fifty dollars; and being unable to pay the fine, was sold for one year and ten months.

LATE AND INTERESTING FROM FLORIDA.

Advices of a highly interesting character were received at the Department of War, on Saturday last, from Col. Worth, commanding the Florida Army, to the 31st ultimo, inclusive. The Colonel announces the surrender of the remnant of Coacoochie's people, the seizure of the Chief Hospitaka, with fifteen of his chiefs and warriors, and the promised surrender of all his people, amounting to 320 more, on the 11th of this month, the day of the arrival of the despatch at general head-quarters. Reports are also transmitted of the recent expedition in the everglades, conducted by Captain Burke, 3d Artillery, and Lieut. Rogers of the Navy, and of a successful operation, under Lieut. Anderson, 2d Infantry, in which he captured several Indians.

The Colonel gives assurances that there are not more than ten Indians on the east side of the St. John's river: that the everglades are abandoned by them as no longer a safe retreat; that the Creeks and Tallahassees in the northern part of the Territory were to meet him on the 7th instant; and that the scattered families on the Wacassa had been so much disturbed by Captains Hoffman and Alexander as to induce earnest promises of speedy submission; and, generally, he reports that the Indians, on all hands, exhibit unequivocal evidences of a desire to end the struggle. It is most gratifying to learn that, with all their privations, exposure, and unusual activity, the troops are generally healthy. It would appear that our gallant little army, having in the gallant Worth a leader of the right spirit, have been enabled to show their entire efficiency.

The Colonel adds, that the 3d Regiment Artillery may soon be withdrawn, and that the 4th and 5th Regiments of Infantry, now under orders for Florida, may probably be countermarched to their former stations, or their destination changed to where their services are more needed.

Nat. Intelligencer.

Arrival of the Great Western.

THIRTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The steamer Great Western arrived at New York on the 16th inst. having left Bristol on the 1st, bringing London dates to the 31st ult.

No intimation is given, in the intelligence by this arrival, that Mr. Fox had been instructed to demand his passports in case M'Leod should not be discharged without trial. On the contrary, it was stated by Lord Palmerston, in reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons, that the communication which had been received from the American government, containing a formal instruction to the Attorney General of the United States with reference to that question, contained doctrines just and consistent with the law of nations, and was perfectly in accordance with the principles upon which her majesty's government had demanded the release and liberation of M'Leod; in fact that nothing could be more honorable than the conduct of the American government in this matter. Mr. Webster's letter to Mr. Fox, therefore, appears to have had an excellent effect.

The principal news by this arrival is the meeting of Parliament—the Queen's speech—the amendment to the address of the Tories—the defeat of the Whigs, in the House of Lords by a majority of 72, and the Commons 91.

The Whig ministry resigned, and the Queen sent for Sir Robert Peel to form a new ministry.

The weather had been remarkably fine: the crops had materially improved; the harvest in the southern counties had made great progress; free wheat was 6d. a bushel cheaper, and flour 1s. per sack cheaper than the week before.

The harvest in France was also very promising.

Teas had fallen in price.

No late news from China.

Our Consul at Matanzas.—It is well known that Mr. Gross, the American Consul at Matanzas, has been sometime imprisoned by the authorities of Cuba. The U. S. brig Dolphin, which sailed from New York on Tuesday, it is stated, is bound to Matanzas, with sealed orders from the Government at Washington. There can be no doubt that her despatches relate to the affair alluded to.

Alexander's Mess.

Camp, North-Eastern Boundary,
September 2, 1841.

Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER,
Secretary of State Washington.

SIR: My attention having very recently been brought to several notices, in the newspapers of the United States, of a statement contained in the Woodstock (New Brunswick,) Telegraph, of the 14th ultimo, in reference to the surveys and explorations now progressing by order of the Government of the United States, under my immediate direction, for the purpose of acquiring information connected with that portion of the boundary in dispute, between the United States and Great Britain, which is included between the monument at the source of the St Croix and the highlands described in the treaty of 1783, I deem it proper to inform the Department of State that, so far as I have any knowledge, the article in question is erroneous in its most important statements.

Neither myself nor any of my officers had received any intimation of the existence of an excitement in the vicinity of our operations, arising from our proceedings, until we saw the matter alluded to in the newspapers of our own country, nor has any violence ever been offered in opposition to them. On the contrary, we have generally met with civil treatment from her Britannic Majesty's subjects residing near the line of exploration, and the same disposition has always been manifested towards them in return.

It is not true that we are marking the line, "United States boundary line," as has been stated. The survey, being ordered solely for the purpose of acquiring information, is limited to that object, and the principal stations, where it has been necessary to mark them in order that they may hereafter be identified, have been designated by the words "U. S. ex parte survey," with the date added.

Neither the question of jurisdiction, nor that of allegiance on the part of the inhabitants heretofore supposed to be residents of the province of New Brunswick, has ever been interfered with by myself or any of my party, so far as I have any knowledge. Our operations have been confined to the objects pointed out in my instructions from the Department, and I have no reason whatever to apprehend that obstacles will be thrown in the way of their fulfilment.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. D. GRAHAM.
United States Commissioner.

From the National Intelligencer.

Distribution of the Proceeds of the Public Lands, Revenue Bill, &c.

It is urged by the opponents of the "Land Distribution Bill," that the abstraction of the proceeds of the Public Lands from the revenues applicable to paying the ordinary expenses of the Government, will induce the necessity of levying a duty on articles now imported free of duty, and, as a necessary consequence, increase the price paid by the consumers of those articles to the extent of the duty levied and the expense of collecting it: that the states will in reality gain nothing by the money distributed, for that the citizens of each state will pay more than an equal amount by indirect taxation in the form of increased prices on articles of consumption.

However plausible these propositions may be, they are nevertheless, in the main, entirely erroneous. That the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands will create a necessity of imposing a duty on the importation of most articles now admitted free of duty, such as silks, wines, teas, coffee, worsted and linen goods, to meet the ordinary expenses of Government, is undoubtedly true; but that the price of these articles to the consumer will be raised to an amount equal to the duty imposed is as undoubtedly false. The operation of the duty will be to lessen the price paid to the producer of these foreign articles to a much greater extent than it will raise the price paid by the consumer. This principle is well understood by the importing merchants, and we accordingly now find them, in the almost certain anticipation of the passage of the revenue bill now pending before Congress, selling these articles at little or no advance upon former prices.

It is proposed, for example, to levy a duty of twenty per cent. on foreign silks. This, it is supposed by the most intelligent dealers in those articles, will raise the price to the jobber, the retailer, and the consumer about five per cent. The remaining fifteen per cent. of the duty will be paid by the foreign manufacturer. In other words, *he must submit to a reduction on the selling price to that amount.*

The whole duty will, it is true, in one sense, be paid by the consumer; but fifteen per cent. out of the twenty, that is, three fourths of the whole duty, will be paid to the Government instead of being paid to the foreign manufacturer. And to this extent the money will be saved in the country instead of being sent to France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, or England, as the case may be. Goods that now cost the importer $100, will then cost, after the duties are paid, $105. Twenty dollars of this $105 will be paid by the importer to the Government as a duty; and $85 will be paid to the foreign manufacturer, instead of $100, the price now paid.

The same observations will apply, with some little variations, to wines, coffee, tea, linen and worsted goods, and in fact to all articles which the supply is equal to, or greater than the demand.

Our grain growers understand that the increase or diminution of duties on our bread stuffs by those countries to which those articles are exported, whenever there is a surplus in this country, operates to raise or depress the price in this country. In other words, that they in fact pay the duty on bread stuffs in the form of the diminished prices which they receive. How, then, can they be duped by demagogues into the belief that they pay all the duties imposed on foreign articles imported into this country in the form of increased prices? If they still doubt, a short time and a little observation will clear away their doubts.

HAMILTON.

[We have been kindly furnished by an observant and practical gentleman of this town, the following remarks on the subject of Tariffs, which will be found to corroborate the above views of 'Hamilton.']

Edit. West. Car.

TARIFF.

THEORY.

The duty on all foreign goods is ultimately paid by the consumer.

PRACTICE.

The manufacturer has a certain price in view upon his goods; the importer pays that price, with freight, insurance, wharfage, duty, &c and adds all upon the invoice price—and this increased price is called cost, on which is calculated a per centage called profit. With this increased and accumulated price, the goods of every description pass into the hands, or to the use of the consumer. Therefore, whatever duty is paid, is an increase of the price paid by the consumer for the goods.

THEORY.

The price of all goods, both foreign and domestic, is governed by the proportion of supply and demand, and not by the supposed cost or expense of production.

PRACTICE.

The importer of foreign or dutiable goods (if he is fit for his business) knows what the goods will sell for in the market where he intends to offer them for sale, and he also knows how much it will cost to get them into such market, calculating the duty as well as the freight and other expenses besides his own profit; if upon his examination of the goods in the hands of the factor or manufacturer, he finds that the price is too high to afford him any, or not a sufficient profit, he will not purchase, unless the factor or owner shall so far reduce the price as to allow him sufficient profit; and thus the duty is lost by the producer, instead of being paid by the consumer.

ARGUMENT.

One fact is worth a dozen theories, where matters of right and wrong are to be ascertained. About the year 1827, the duty on Salt was reduced from 49 cents to 15 cents per bushel, but this produced no reduction of price in the article, but in fact the consumers were charged a higher price than before. Neither has the general reduction of duties under the compromise bill produced any corresponding reduction of prices in any other goods; but in fact all reduction of duties only increases the profits of the manufacturer or the importer. Hence arises the consideration in the treaty for the French indemnity of 1832, when the duty on wines and silks were greatly reduced, not by act of Congress, but by treaty with a foreign power, and hence the strong efforts that are now making to reduce the duty on American Tobacco in foreign countries, particularly in Europe. Where is the use or utility of negotiating on a matter of duties if the consumers pay all? What right or what obligation has our government to interfere in a matter only between the King and subjects of a foreign government; unless it be a matter of interest and importance to the citizens of this Government. Or why should the French Government consider it a valuable consideration to procure a reduction of duties on wine and silk in the United States? In order to show, that a foreign manufacturer cannot have a regular fixed price for any goods, or product whatever, we need only refer to the fluctuation in the price of Cotton, now a staple article of commerce, and a raw material for manufacture; its cost is the market price in our Southern sea-port towns, and this is known not to remain stationary for one month at a time in any one year, and a like fluctuation exists in the price of this article in the principal marts of Europe, such as Liverpool, Cowes, Bremen, &c. now if the price was stationary at any one place, the producer could always get some regular price which might well be termed cost, but as this is not so, the foreign manufacturer of dutiable goods can have no regular cost as the price of his goods, but always sell at the market price or whatsoever price he may be able to procure, in the same manner that the American planter sells his cotton or any other product of the soil. If the importing or any other merchant purchase such goods as will not sell at a profit in the market, he must be content to sell at a loss, for it is either his folly or misfortune to have such goods on hand. Every producer will sell for the best price he can get, whether the article cost him much or little labour.

If a man in searching for gold shall expend a months labour in procuring one ounce, he gets a reasonable compensation; but if in another month he shall be able to procure twenty ounces, each ounce is just as valuable as the one he laboured a month for—should he (as frequently happens) labour two or three months and find none, his labour is spent in vain, and he gets nothing.

If a man cultivate three acres in cotton, and one of them produces a thousand pounds, and the other two but five hundred each, it is obvious that one thousand cost him twice as much labor, yet they are of equal value.

To prove more clearly the proposition that the price of articles is governed by the proportion between the supply and the demand, I refer to the article of Corn, a staple commodity of subsistence; at some periods the quantity on hand so far exceeds the demand, that it costs the consumer but 25 cents per bushel, especially those who purchase from the producer: while at other periods the demand so far exceeds the proportion of the quantity produced, that it costs the consumer one dollar per bushel. When, therefore, we see the leading articles of commerce, the essential articles of subsistence and the products of labor all having such wide discrepancies of nominal value, we must necessarily conclude that there is no regularly established price for any article whatever; and applying this conclusion to the case on hand, we must find that a duty levied on foreign goods in our American Custom House, has little or no effect in increasing the price paid for them by the ultimate consumer.

A true Bill.—We rejoice to learn from the Kentucky papers, that at a court recently held in Grant county, in that state, Judge Pryor charged the Grand Jury to investigate the circumstances connected with the unlawful execution of Maythe and Couch, by a *Lynch Court*. Under the instructions of the Judge, that all such proceedings amounted to murder, the Jury presented nine bills of indictment for murder in the first degree against as many of the individuals who participated in that disgraceful outrage—If all our courts and juries would manifest a like spirit, Judge Lynch and his hellish crew would soon be made to expiate their vile deeds on the gallows, and our country would be redeemed from one of the greatest blots upon her character. If there be a cause on earth in defence of which a patriot should be willing to risk his life, it is in supporting the constituted authorities of the land, in vindicating and upholding the sanctity and supremacy of the Laws. *Danville Rep.*

MARRIED,

In this place, on the 15th instant, by the Rev. M. A. Curtis, Dr. JOHN SWAN, of Pittsborough, to Miss FRANCES WADDELL, daughter of the late John Waddell, esq., of Chatham.

Obituary.

Died, at his residence in Lafayette county, Mississippi, on the 9th ultimo, JONATHAN P. SNEED, esq. aged 47 years.

Mr. Sneed was for many years a merchant in this place, and enjoyed the esteem and respect of all who knew him. He afterwards removed to the state of Mississippi, where his benevolence of disposition, and his sincerity and urbanity of manners, acquired for him the confidence and friendship of his neighbors and fellow citizens.

Died, at the same place, on the 8th ult., WILLIAM LUCAS, youngest son of Jonathan P. and Sarah A. Sneed, aged 12 years.

Died, at his residence, Bluff Creek, Fayette county, Tenn., on the 6th ult., Mr. ROBERT S. HARRIS, formerly of Person county, in this state.

Weekly Almanac.

SEPTEMB'R	Sun rises	Sun sets	MOON'S PHASES	D. H. M.
23 Thursday,	6 1	5 59		
24 Friday,	6 2	5 58		
25 Saturday,	6 3	5 57		
26 Sunday,	6 4	5 56		
27 Monday,	6 5	5 55		
28 Tuesday,	6 6	5 54		
29 Wednesday	6 7	5 53	Last	8 8 57 morn
			New	15 0 46 morn
			First	22 8 16 morn
			Full	30 11 9 morn

Chairs! Chairs!

THE subscribers have on hand one dozen of RUSH BOTTOM MAPLE CHAIRS, which they will sell cheap for Cash, or on a short credit. Call and see.

PARKER & NELSON.
September 21. 91—

August 26, 1841.

750 PACKAGES
OF
STAPLE AND FANCY
DRY GOODS.

Edwin James & Co.
PETERSBURG, VA.

ARE now receiving, by the late arrivals, their supply of
FALL AND WINTER
Staple & Fancy Dry Goods,
which have been selected with great care, bought at very low prices, and have for sale about SEVEN HUNDRED & FIFTY PACKAGES, which they intend to offer by the piece or package, at such prices as cannot fail to give entire satisfaction; and they solicit and invite examination of all who are disposed to encourage the EFFORT to establish another Wholesale Jobbing House in this place. They are now making very large additions to their Store and Sales Rooms; and by the 6th of September, their entire stock will be opened and ready for the inspection of customers, friends, and the public generally. Additional supplies will be received throughout the season, such as the demand may dictate.

On hand, a large assortment of Anchor Brand BOLTING CLOTHS, from No. 1 to 10, inclusive, of the superior approved quality.

Petersburg, Va. August 26. 91—2w

Just Received and for Sale,
A QUANTITY of Liverpool and Ground Alum SALT, by the sack or bushel.
PARKER & NELSON.
September 7. 90—

From the National Intelligencer.

THE CASE OF M'LEOD.

On Saturday last, Ex-president Adams delivered a speech upon the resolution concerning the case of McLeod, introduced some time ago by an opposition member into the House of Representatives, which captivated the attention of the house to a degree which might be expected from the position of that distinguished member, and his known familiarity with every thing that concerns the foreign relations of the United States.

Mr. Adams first spoke of the apparent party aspects and objects of the resolution before the house, and the debate in favor of it; and of the strong condemnation which that conduct merited which sought to make profit to a party, regardless of consequences, out of a question which involved, or might be made to involve, the issue of peace or war with a country perhaps the most powerful on the Globe.

He then proceeded to say that he was opposed to multiplying issues with Great Britain. We had one issue with that country (he was understood to refer to the boundary question) where we were clearly in the right, and she was clearly in the wrong; and, if we must fight, we had better fight about such a question than about one where we were in the wrong. For he desired to declare, in the face of the country and the world, his opinion, that, in regard to the affair of the "Caroline," a due consideration of all the circumstances might lead to the conclusion that we were in the wrong. The question was, and always would be, who struck the first blow? The British, it is true, burnt the boat and killed a man. But the question is, what was the boat about, and what was the man doing in the boat? The boat was engaged in hostile acts against Great Britain; it was employed in transporting men and arms to Navy Island, in aid of an insurrection against the British authorities in Upper Canada. We might go to war on this matter; and, after the blood and treasure of the nation had been expended in support of it, we should have a peace. And what then? The question would still be, who struck the first blow? And are we sure we could find among all the Christian nations an umpire who would not say that we had been all the while in the wrong?

Mr. Adams then spoke of another issue which had been attempted to be made, viz. in relation to the particular case of McLeod. He spoke of the opinion delivered by judge Cowen, of the New York court, in this case, and declared his dissent from that opinion in strong terms: and he alluded to the sentiments expressed by some of his *forty* friends from New York on that floor, to the same purport and effect as to that opinion, with emphatic disapprobation. New York had been called the "Empire" state; but, he said, Delaware is as much an "Empire" state as New York; and he regarded it as both wrong and dangerous, when persons were heard to declare on that floor, and in the other end of the capitol, that New York *would* try McLeod, and, if found guilty *would* hang him; and all because New York was the "Empire state!" Nobody had proposed to interfere with New York, or the courts of New York; but, by some process, McLeod ought to be released, and the President had done no more than his duty in sending the attorney general into New York on this subject. There was not an enlightened nation on earth that would not decide against this idea of holding individuals responsible in a case like this. And the management of the whole case belonged to this government; for it was a national matter, and, if a war grew out of it, it was not New York that was to maintain that war, but the blood and treasure of the whole nation must maintain it.

Mr. Adams, before he was cut off by the expiration of the hour, paid a noble tribute to Mr. Webster. He alluded to a remark which had been made by some member from New Hampshire, that "we should have no war with Great Britain while Daniel Webster *was secretary of state.*" He said he thanked God heartily for it, and the people of this country ought to raise their hands in devout and united thanksgiving to God for it! He believed the remark to be true. Peace *would* be preserved while that man was Secretary of State: Not by concession! —*he* was the last man on earth to make concession to Great Britain—he *had* made none—but by moderation and a conciliatory temper, accompanied with a just decision and firmness. Mr. A alluded to Mr. Webster's letter to Mr. Fox, and pronounced it one of the best diplomatic papers that had ever been written, and said he could adopt every line and word of it. Its value was already manifest in the effect it had evidently produced: and he referred, in this connexion, to the conciliatory tone assumed towards this country by Sir Robert Peel, in his address at Tamworth. He repeated his conviction that, while the rights and the honor of the country would be firmly and fully maintained, yet peace *would* be preserved so long as Daniel Webster was Secretary of State.

We do not pretend to give even a sketch of all the remarks made by Mr. Adams; and in regard to the topics to which we have referred, as embraced in his speech, we have given only the faintest outline of what was said by him.

Affecting Incident.—A writter in Chamber's Edinburg Journal, in giving an account of Lincoln Lunatic Asylum, states the following interesting fact:—Another case in this asylum interested me greatly. Amongst the better class of boarders is a middle aged respectable looking man, possessing a large and active brain, but deranged on some points. This person, some months ago, took a particular interest in a young man, also a patient of good abilities, but imperfectly educated, and given over to habits of sloth and indolence. From the senior inmate the junior obtained, in the course of six months, not only much instruction in reading, writing, and accounts, but habits of occupation and attention, and a desire to make himself useful in the world. Thus, by constantly employing the powers of his mind to the utmost, his intellect and self-respect gradually re developed themselves, and, afterwards, being discharged cured, he obtained a situation which gave him the means of independent subsistence. I was shown a series of grateful and neatly-penned letters which the pupil had since sent, from time to time, to his friendly instructor.

From the Washington Whig.

The Whig Banner, recently published at Lincolnton, in this state, and which was ardently and zealously devoted to the cause of the people against the corruptions of the late Administration, has, we are sorry to learn, been discontinued for want of patronage. It is to us, strange, passing strange, that the Whig press generally should be so meagerly supported in North Carolina; but such is the fact, that several papers have of late been discontinued for want of that encouragement to which they were justly entitled; whilst others, from their appearance, are in a languishing condition and probably must ere long meet the fate of their predecessors. On the contrary, we know not a single opposition paper in this state, that has been discontinued since the late Presidential election! How is this? Why should the Whigs, who comprise an overwhelming majority in N. Carolina, permit any portion of their press to languish and die, for want of adequate support? It surely cannot be owing to absence of pecuniary ability on their part; for certainly there are comparatively very few persons who are unable to pay the small sum of three dollars a year for a newspaper. Why then should any portion of the Whig press be treated with cold neglect by a large number of those whose cause they ardently and with untiring zeal, in season and out of season, supported in the late struggle for constitutional liberty? Is there any good reason why they should now be abandoned? We think not. Those papers have not proved recreant to the sound republican principles they have heretofore advocated. If they have not been conducted with as much spirit and energy as papers on the other side, pray whose fault is it? surely not theirs, but those from whom they justly claim a liberal and encouraging support, but who, strange as it is true, refuse to give it.

Remember that the beginning of the sublime sciences are often so simple as to seem worthless.

Dr. Sherman's Medicated Lozenges.

SHERMAN'S COUGH LOZENGES, ARE the safest, most sure and effectual remedy for Coughs, Colds, Consumptions, Whooping Coughs, Asthma, Tightness of the Lungs or Chest, &c. The proprietor has never known an instance where they did not give perfect satisfaction.

Good News for Children.

SHERMAN'S WORM LOZENGES,

Are the greatest discovery ever made, for dispelling the various kinds of worms, that so frequently and distressingly annoy both children and adults. They are an infallible remedy, and so pleasant to the taste, that children will take them as readily as a common peppermint Lozenge. Many diseases arise from worms, without its being suspected. Sometimes a very troublesome cough, pains in the joints or limbs, bleeding at the nose, &c, are occasioned by worms, and will be easily cured by using this celebrated medicine. The following symptoms indicate the presence of worms, viz: headache, vertigo, torpor, disturbed dreams, sleep broken off by fright and screaming, convulsions, feverishness, thirst, pallid hue, bad taste in the mouth, offensive breath, cough, difficult breathing, itching at the nose, pains in the stomach, nausea, squeamishness, voracity, leanness, tenesmus, itching at the anus towards night and at length dejections of worms and mucus. One is a dose for a child two years old—two for one four years—three for eight years—and five for an adult, and should be repeated every morning, or every other morning until relieved.

SHERMAN'S CAMPHOR LOZENGES.

These are a very pleasant, agreeable and efficacious article; an unfailing remedy for lowness of spirits, nervous or sick headache, inflammatory or putrid sore throat, as well as all other complaints where the camphor is recommended.

☞ The above medicines are for sale by A. PARKS, *Agent.*

September 15. 90—

House and Lot

AT THE

High Falls of Haw River

FOR SALE.

BY virtue of a deed of trust to me executed by Jesse McCuistin, for certain purposes therein mentioned, I shall proceed to sell, on Saturday the 2nd day of October next, at the High Falls, the House and Lot lately occupied by said McCuistin, together with two other lots,—all situated upon a beautiful eminence between Haw River and Stony Creek. Also a quantity of household and kitchen furniture, consisting of a Mahogany Sideboard, 1 Bureau, 2 Dining Tables, 1 dozen fine Chairs, 4 Beds and Furniture, &c., &c., A Horse, Cattle, Hogs, &c. also for sale.

Terms accommodating, and made known on the day of sale.

BENJAMIN HURDLE, *Trustee.*

Sept 11th. 90—tds

Pine Shingles.

THE subscriber keeps on hand, for sale, PINE SHINGLES.

JAMES S. SMITH.

April 8. 16—

Land for Sale.

ON Tuesday the 28th of September next, at Wm. Trice's store, will be sold the tract of land on which the subscriber lives, on the old Raleigh Road, seven miles from Hillsborough, on Pond's Creek; the sale will be on a liberal credit.

This tract contains 258 acres; one half of which or more, is wood land of excellent quality; much of the cleared land is good; it has upon it 10 or 15 acres of first rate Meadow land, a good Orchard, and an excellent Mill seat.

A good title will be given by the person who purchased this land when it was sold as my property under a deed of trust in October last.

JAMES RAINEY.

August 25. 87—

Piano Forte & Music STORE,

Petersburg, Va.

CHS. BERG & CO. have received during the present week TEN PIANO FORTES, among which is a six and a half Octave Piano Forte, a very superior one to any ever seen here. They have now on hand a very large stock, and would respectfully request those Ladies and Gentlemen of Hillsborough and Environs who are in want of Pianos, to call and see them and try them; and they will be convinced of their superiority to any other manufacture. We will give a written warranty as to their durability and keeping in tune longer than any other.

They have also on hand a large assortment of MUSIC of the latest publication for Piano and Guitar, Strings of all sorts, best Violins, Flutes, Accordions, all kinds of Brass Instruments for Military Bands, Drums of all sizes, &c. &c.

C. Berg & Co. would respectfully recommend their assortment of Pianos and Music to Principals and Teachers of Schools. Any order shall be faithfully and promptly attended to.

For the convenience of purchasers in North Carolina, Doctor Watson of Oxford, having kindly consented to act as our Agent, has now on hand some of our instruments. We shall shortly establish agencies in other parts of North Carolina, knowing that whenever our Pianos become known they will be preferred to any other.

July 13. 82—

NEW GOODS.

THE subscribers have received and offer for sale at their Store House, one mile north of Cross Roads Meeting House, a fresh and desirable stock of Seasonable Goods, consisting in part of the following articles:

Common and Fine Blue Cloths,
Invisible Green do.
Cassimeres and Satinets,
Black Silk and Satin Vestings,
Marseilles do.
French, London and Furniture Prints,
Black Silks and Printed Muslin,
Gauze Scarfs and Handkerchiefs,
Stockinet Drilling and Gambroon,
Fashionable Bonnets and Wreaths,
Plain, Figured, Swiss and Chequered Muslin,
Ribands, Edgings and Brown Linen,
Linen Bosoms and Collars, Oil Cloths,
Hardware, Cutlery, Crockery and Tin Ware,
Paints, Nails and Iron,
Loaf and Brown Sugar.
SADDLERY—Bridle-bits, Buckles, Plush, Webbing, Trees & Morocco Skins.
HATS—Beaver, Brush, Russia, Moleskin and Palm leaf Hats.
Ladies' fine Kid Slippers, and Men's Pumps and Shoes.
500 pounds Cotton Yarn.
Books, Paper, and Paper Prints,
Mayland's Scotch Snuff.
Manufactured Tobacco and Cigars,
Fancy and Bar Soap,
and many other articles.

ELI MURRAY & CO.

May 5. 71—6m

Corn! Corn! Corn!

THE subscriber wishes to purchase FIVE HUNDRED BARRELS OF CORN.

J. S. SMITH.

January 13. 55—

Attention!!

To the Commissioned Officers and Musicians belonging to the forty seventh Regiment of Militia.

YOU are hereby ordered and commanded to appear in the town of Hillsborough, on the 22d day of September, at 11 o'clock, armed and equipped, for drill muster and court martial; and on Thursday the 23d instant, you will appear with your respective companies, armed and equipped according to law, with six rounds of powder, for regimental exercise and review.

Captains will be required to make lawful returns on the 22d inst.

WM. H. WOODS, *Col. Com.*

September 6. 89—

Attention!

First Light Infantry Company, attached to the forty seventh Regiment.

YOU are hereby ordered and commanded to appear at the Episcopal Church, Hillsborough, at 10 o'clock on the 23d inst., in full uniform equipped as the law directs, with six rounds of powder, for General Review.

JOS. G. BACON, CAPTAIN.

September 4. 89—

Attention!—TOWN COMPANY.

YOU are hereby commanded and ordered to attend at the court house in Hillsborough, on Thursday the 23d inst., at 10 o'clock armed and equipped according to law, for General Review. Each private is requested to furnish himself with six rounds of powder.

By order of the Captain.

CHS. S. WARREN, O. S.

September 7. 89—

Attention!

To the Commissioned, non-Commissioned Officers, and Musicians, of the 48th Regiment of North Carolina Militia.

YOU are hereby commanded to attend at David Mebane's, on Saturday, the 18th of September, at 11 o'clock, equipped according to law, for Drill Muster and Court Martial; and on Wednesday the 22nd of September, you will attend, with your respective Companies, at 11 o'clock, equipped according to law, with six rounds of powder, for review.

By order of the Brigadier General of the sixth Brigade of North Carolina Militia.

THOMAS JONES, *Col. Com.*

August 25. 87—

NEW GOODS.

THE subscribers beg leave to inform their friends and the public generally, that they are just receiving from the Northern Markets

a neat and well-selected Stock of SPRING GOODS,

bought entirely for cash, and will be sold exceedingly low for cash, or on a short credit to punctual dealers.

Persons wishing to purchase, would do well to call and see before they buy elsewhere.

MEBANE & TURNER.

May 11. 72—

Commission Business.

THE subscriber having located himself in the town of Petersburg, for the purpose of conducting the Receiving, Forwarding, and Commission Business, takes this method of offering his services to his friends and the public generally. He will attend to the sale of any kind of produce sent to his care

WALKER A. CAMERON.

REFERENCES.

Dunn, Mellwaine & Brownley, Paul, Mellwaine & Co., Pannill & Lea, A Kevan & Brother, } Petersburg.
Col. Cadwallader Jones, James Webb, Jr. & Co., } Hillsborough, N. C.
Benjamin Edmunds, Dr. Charles Skinner, } Halifax Co., N. C.

August 26. 83—4w

Received this Day,

and for Sale,

COFFEE, Sugar, Imperial and Hyson Teas, Mustard, Sal Aratus, Coperas, Indigo, Honey-dew Tobacco, Candles, Cotton Cards, best quality, Bed Cords, Plough lines, Window Glass, Powder, Shot, Nails, Ginger, Soap, Blacking, &c.

JAMES WEBB, Jr. & CO.

June 16. 77—

BOOTS, SHOES, &C.

for the Spring and Summer.

THE subscriber would respectfully inform his friends and the public generally, that he has just received the largest assortment of articles in his line of business, perhaps, ever before brought to this market; and as they have been entirely selected by the subscriber, with an eye to their neatness and durability, he thinks he can give satisfaction to all who may patronize him. The articles have been purchased on very reasonable terms and will be sold cheap. He invites his friends to call and examine his assortment before purchasing elsewhere. The following are comprised in his assortment, suitable for the Spring and Summer:

Gentlemen's Boots, first quality.
Do. Do. second do.
Do. Shoes, first quality.
Do. Do. second do.
Do. Do. third do.
Do. Pumps—various qualities.
Do. Gaiter Shoetees.
Do. Pump Shoetees.
Do. Slippers.
Boys' Shoes—various qualities.
Do. Pumps and Slippers.
Ladies' Philadelphia black Kid Slippers.
Do. do. colored do.
Do Morocco Slippers—thick & thin soled.
Do. Seal-skin Shoes and Slippers.
Do. Leather Shoes and Shoetees.
Misses' Philadelphia Morocco Slips—thick and thin soled.
Do. Colored Slippers—various patterns and qualities.
Do. Morocco and Leather Shoetees.
Do. Low Shoes.
Children's Shoes, of almost every size and quality.

☞ In addition to the above, he has received from the North his materials for manufacturing; and, having first rate workmen in his employ, is prepared to execute all orders in his line with neatness and despatch.

The subscriber would respectfully return his thanks to the public for the very liberal patronage he has received at their hands; and promises that no pains will be spared in the future to give satisfaction.

WM. H. BROWN.

April 29. 70—

FRESH FRUITS, Confectionaries, &c.

MRS. VASSEUR takes pleasure in announcing to the public, that she has just received a fresh supply of Fruits, Confectionaries, &c., and is now able to furnish almost any thing that may be wanted in her line of business. They consist principally of the following articles:

Oranges, Lemons, Raisins, Prunes, Figs, Currants and Dates.
Almonds, Walnuts, Brazil Nuts, Soda Crackers, Butter Crackers, Water Crackers, Sugar Crackers.
Lemon Syrup and Lime Juice.
Preserved Ginger, Preserved Pine Apples, Preserved Cherries, Sardines.
A general assortment of Candies, Jujube Paste, excellent for colds.
Cologne, Bears Oil, French Pomatum, Balm of Columbia, aqmost approved article for the hair.
Chewing Tobacco, Cigars, Smoking Tobacco, Matches.
A handsome assortment of Toys.
A few dozen of Corn Brooms, and a few Children's Carriages—sold very cheap.

April 29. 70

Moffat's Vegetable Life Medicines

THESE Medicines are indebted for their name to their manifest and sensible action in purifying the springs and channels of life, and endueing them with renewed tone and vigor. In many hundred certified cases which have been made public, and in almost every species of disease to which the human frame is liable, the happy effects of MOFFAT's LIFE PILLS and PHŒNIX BITTERS have been gratefully and publicly acknowledged by the persons benefitted, and who were previously unacquainted with the beautifully philosophical principles upon which they are compounded, and upon which they consequently act.

The LIFE MEDICINES recommend themselves in diseases of every form and description. Their first operation is to loosen from the coats of the stomach and bowels, the various impurities and cruditice constantly settling around them, and to remove the hardened fæces which collect in the convolutions of the small intestines. Other medicines only partially cleanse these, and leave such collected masses behind as to produce habitual costiveness, with all its train of evils, or sudden diarrhœa, with its imminent dangers. The fact is well known to all regular anatomists, who examine the human bowels after death; and hence the prejudice of these well informed men against quack medicines, or medicines prepared and heralded to the public by ignorant persons. The second effect of the Life Medicines is to cleanse the kidneys and the bladder, and by this means the liver and the lungs, the healthful action of which entirely depends upon the regularity of the urinary organs. The blood, which takes its red color from the agency of the liver and the lungs before it passes into the heart, being thus purified by them, and nourished by food coming from a clean stomach, courses freely through the veins, renews every part of the system, and triumphantly mounts the banner of health in the blooming cheek.

Moffat's Vegetable Life Medicines have been thoroughly tested, and pronounced a sovereign remedy for Dyspepsia, Flatulency, Palpitation of the Heart, Loss of Appetite, Heartburn and Headache, Restlessness, Ill temper, Anxiety, Languor and Melancholy, Costiveness, Diarrhœa, Cholera, Fevers of all kinds, Rheumatism, Gout, Dropsies of all kinds, Gravel, Worms, Asthma and Consumption, Scurvy, Ulcers, inveterate Sores, Scorbutic Eruptions, and Red Complexions, Eruptive complaints, Sallow, Cloudy and other disagreeable Complexions, Erysipelas, Salt Rheum, Common Colds and Influenza, and various other complaints which afflict the human frame. In Fever and Ague, particularly, the Life Medicines have been most eminently successful; so much so that in the Fever and Ague districts Physicians almost universally prescribe them.

All that Mr. Moffat requires of his patients is to be particular in taking the Life Medicines strictly according to the directions. It is not by a newspaper notice, or by any thing that he himself may say in their favor, that he hopes to gain credit. It is alone by the results of a fair trial.

Moffat's Medical Manual; designed as a Domestic Guide to Health.—This little pamphlet, edited by Wm. B. Moffat, 375 Broadway, New York, has been published for the purpose of explaining more fully Mr. Moffat's theory of diseases, and will be found highly interesting to persons seeking health. It treats upon prevalent diseases, and the causes thereof. Price 25 cents. For sale by Moffat's agents generally.

☞ These valuable Medicines are for sale at the Office of the Hillsborough Recorder.

D. HEARTT, *Agent.*

May 20. 22—

VERY CHEAP!!

WE are now receiving from New York and Philadelphia, a handsome assortment of

Spring and Summer GOODS,

which have been bought cheap, and will be sold cheap.

This purchase was not made by order, but by one of the subscribers; we therefore think we are able to show a stock that must please our friends and customers wishing to treat themselves to a Summer supply.

OUR STOCK COMPRISES.

Superior wool-dyed Black CLOTHS,
Do. do. Blue do.
Do. do. Invisible Green, do.
Black Lama, Do. Drop Deta, Do. Ermines, } SUMMER CLOTHS.
Fancy Cassimeres, Satinets,
Cadet Janes, Kentucky Janes,
Silk, Satin, Cashmere, and Marseilles, } VESTINGS.
Printed Lawn, Jackonet and French Muslin,
Chaleys, plain and striped Gingham,
Figured, striped and plain Light Silks,
Black and blue-black Bombazines,
French, English and American Prints,
Plain and Chequered Muslin,
Long Lawn, Hem stitch and Linen Cambric Handkerchiefs,
Damask and Bird eye Diaper,
Irish and Brown Linens,
Brown Holland, and Linen Drillings,
Georgia Nankin, Cadet Cassimeres,
Worked Collars, Edgings and Insertings,
Florence and Straw Braid Bonnets,
Hoods, Flowers, Bonnet Ribbons, &c.

ALSO,

Beaver Fur, Brush, Leghorn and Palm leaf HATS,
Gentlemen's Shoes, Boots, Pumps and Slippers,
Ladies' Black and Coloured Slippers,
Turkey Red and Cotton Yarn,
Glass, Queensware, Crockery, and Stone Ware,
Hardware and Cutlery,
Chocolate, Mace, Cloves,
Molasses, Loaf and Brown Sugar,
Black and Green Teas,
Powder, Shot, Nails, Window Glass,
White Lead and other Paints, &c. &c.

PARKER & NELSON.

April 28. 70—

BLANKS for sale at this Office

NEW GOODS.

THE subscribers having received their Stock for the season, would respectfully invite their customers and the public to give them a call.

Their Stock consists of every variety of Goods common to this market, all of which they will dispose of on the most liberal terms. They are determined to make their prices conform to the times. They will make no fine promises to decoy the confiding and unwary. Call and judge for yourselves.

JAMES WEBB, Jr. & CO.

May 5. 71—

Soda Water and Ice Cream,

☞ MRS. VASSEUR takes pleasure in informing the public, that her SODA FOUNTAIN has been thoroughly repaired and is now in operation. The Soda Water is of an excellent quality.

☞ She has also commenced making ICE CREAM; and persons can be supplied on any day in the week except Sunday and Monday.

May 19. 74—

Brandreth's Pills.

A VEGETABLE and Universal Medicine, proved by the experience of the masses to be, when properly persevered with, a CERTAIN cure in every form of the CRUX UKE DISEASE, all having the same origin, and invariably arise from the UNIVERSAL ROOT of all disease, namely IMPURITY or IMPERFECT circulation of the BLOOD.

In a period of little more than three years in the U. S. they have restored to a state of health and enjoyment over ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND persons, who were given over as incurable by physicians of the first rank and standing, and in many cases when every other remedy had been resorted to in vain.

In all cases of Pain or Weakness, whether it be chronic or recent, whether it be deafness or pain in the side, whether it arise from constitutional or from some immediate cause, whether it be from internal or external injury, it will be cured by persevering in the use of these Pills.

This principle of purging with Brandreth's Pills, removes nothing but the useless and decayed particles from the body—the morbid and corrupt humors of the blood, those humors which cause disease—they impede the functions of the liver when they settle upon that organ, and which, when they settle upon the muscles, produce rheumatism; or upon the nerves, produce gout; or upon the lungs, produce consumption; or upon the intestines, costiveness; or upon the lining of the blood vessels, apoplexy and paralysis, and all the train of disorders so melancholy to the sufferer and all who behold them.

Yes, purging these humors from the body is the true cure for all these complaints, and every other form of disease. This is no mere assertion—it is a demonstrable truth, and each day it is extending itself; far and wide it is becoming known, and more and more appreciated.

The cure by purging may more depend upon the laws which produce sweetness or purity, than may be generally imagined. Whatever tends to stagnate, will produce sickness, because it tends to putrefaction; therefore the necessity of constant exercise is seen.

When constant exercise cannot be used from ANY CAUSE, the occasional use of OPENING MEDICINE is ABSOLUTELY required. Thus the conduits of the blood, the fountain of life, are kept free from those impurities which would prevent its steady current ministering health. Thus morbid humors are prevented from becoming mixed with it. It is nature which is thus assisted through the means and outlets which she has provided for herself.

Dr. BRANDRETH's Office in Virginia, 105 MAIN STREET, RICHMOND, Near the Old Market.

Where the Pills can be obtained at 25 cents per box, with full directions.

The following gentlemen have been appointed agents for the sale of Brandreth's Pills:

Dennis Heartt, Hillsborough.
Stedman & Ramsay, Pittsborough.
Hargrave, Gaither & Co. Lexington.
Joseph A. Sirelluff, Midway, Davidson.
James B. M'Dade, Chapel Hill.
J. M. A. Drake, Ashborough, Randolph.
John R. Brown, Privilege, Do.
M. C. Gardner, St. Lawrence, Chatham.
G. A. Mebane, Mason Hall, Orange.
E. & W. Smith, Alamance, Guilford.
J. & R. Sloan, Greensborough.
J. & R. Reid, Troublesome Iron Works, Rockingham.
James Johnson, Wentworth, Do.
Wood & Neal, Madison, Do.
J. W. Burton, & Co. Leaksville, Do.
Owen M'Aleer, Yanceyville, Caswell.
N. J. Palmer, Milton, Do.

December 18 48—12m

Wanted,

IN exchange for Dry Goods—BEES-WAX, TALLOW, FEATHERS, and FLAXSEED.

JAMES WEBB, Jr. & Co.

December 16. 52—

Flax-seed and Wheat Wanted.

THE highest Cash prices will be given for Flax Seed and Wheat, delivered at my Mills on Eno.

THOS. W. HOLDEN.

N. B. My Carding Machines are now in full operation. T. W. H.

August 11. 86—

Mattresses,

EITHER Double or Single, made to order—an article of great comfort, either in summer or winter. Orders left at the office of the Hillsborough Recorder will be duly attended to.

July 24. 80—

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

BY DENNIS HEARTT,

AT THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, OR TWO DOLLARS FIFTY CENTS IF PAID IN ADVANCE.

Those who do not give notice of their wish to have their paper discontinued at the expiration of the year, will be presumed as desiring its continuance until countermanded.—And no paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the option of the publisher.

Advertisements not exceeding sixteen lines, one dollar for the first, and twenty five cents for each subsequent insertion; longer ones in proportion. Court advertisements twenty five per cent higher. A deduction of 33⅓ per cent. will be made to advertisers by the year.